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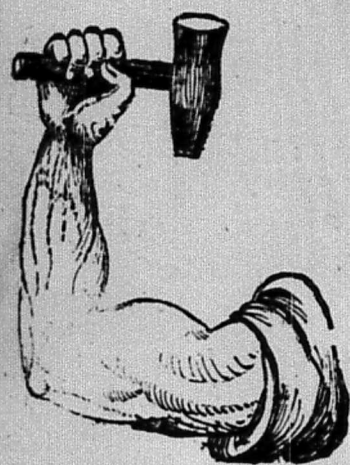
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NEW YORK, JUNE 5, 1898.

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BRAY O!

New Bedford, Mass., Big Socialist Labor Party Vote.

Massachusetts & Pennsylvania State Conventions.

At the special election, held last Tuesday in the Thirteenth Congressional district of Massachusetts, comprising New Bedford, the Socialist Labor party vote in New Bedford rose from 155 last year to 731. Randall, the Republican candidate, polled in that erstwhile Republican stronghold just 5 votes more than Skahan, the S. L. P. candidate. The closeness of this majority has caused the comrades to demand a recount. It is believed the S. L. P. carried New Bedford.

But even if the recount should not give the S. L. P. the majority in the city, the vote is a marked victory, whose significance will surely not escape either friend or foe.

The S. L. P. vote in New Bedford had been sinking. It went up a little, too trifling to mention, after the previous strike here; and then it dropped again. Then came this year's strike, and with it a Socialist agitation that was not possible at the previous strike. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance had not yet been organized; nor, as a result had the warfare of the party been as aggressive against those outposts of the capitalist class—the "pure and simple" labor fakirs—as since. The party agitation, lacking accordingly, that practical turn that only a close contact with the daily class-struggle could impart. The effect appeared in the trifling increase recorded at the succeeding election, and in the subsequent loss, not of the increase only but even of part of the little vote previously polled.

All that was different this year. The strike called for a thorough debate of the labor question in New Bedford. This was due to the existence of the Alliance and its close connection with the party. The party agitation went hand in hand with the immediately practical work of Alliance agitation and ORGANIZATION. This called for the resistance of the fakirs. Of all colors, all shades and all sizes, they poured into New Bedford; they attacked the Alliance; they were forced to present "arguments"; and, such as these were, could be weighed in a manner that the New Bedford proletariat never could before. By precept and by contrast the class-conscious issue was held up and emphasized, and the whole was clinched by Alliance organizations—"opposition unions," as the hostile element loves to style them—and, oh, horror! in the very midst of a strike at that!

There are those, who, wishing the party's success, yet have persisted in blindness upon the deep strategy and soundness of the Alliance movement, and have imagined they made a strong argument against the policy that sent party agitators out who, to put it in their own words, "only made Alliance speeches and only organized Alliance locals." Look at New Bedford! The sight there seen proves that no Alliance speech is imaginable that is not a sunken pier for the class-conscious political structure. The membership of the New Bedford S. L. P. Sections increased; the S. L. P. vote swells to such magnitude as to justify the belief that it carried the city—and that in the midst of a war fever, well calculated and expected to carry the voters off their feet into the camp of the capitalist party in power.

New Bedford deserves a rousing cheer from the class-conscious proletariat in the land: in their name we give it here.

With New Bedford as the proof of the pudding, let the well-rounded, politico-economic, uncompromisingly aggressive agitation, education and organization proceed revolutionward.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE CONVENTION.

The Eighth Convention of the Socialist Labor party of Massachusetts met in Lynn on May 28 last and continued in session until to-day, holding, in all, five sittings. There were 38 delegates present. It is considered the largest, most important and most interesting of the conventions of the party in the State. Its official acts of public importance were:

1. The nomination of the following

TICKET:

For Governor,
GEORGE R. PEARE,
of Lynn.

For Lieutenant Governor,
MICHAEL T. BERRY,
of Haverhill.

For Secretary of State,
J. F. STEPHENS,
of Boston.

For State Treasurer,
MARTHA M. AVERY,
of Boston.

For Attorney General,
CLARENCE E. SPELLMAN,
of Westfield.

For State Auditor,
JOSEPH M. PALME,
JOSEPH PALME,
of New Bedford.

The party's candidate for Governor, George R. Peare, was born May 13, 1847, in Halifax, N. S., while his parents were on a visit to the Provinces from Alexandria, Va., their home; came to Massachusetts the same year; stopped there for some time, journeying to Columbia, South Carolina. The family came North shortly before the war, residing in Lawrence and Boston during the Civil War; at which place George attended school and Comers College in Boston; after graduating at that institution he went to Chicago and attended Eastman's College in that city.

Mr. Peare is a draughtsman and machinist; from an experience in the McKay factory in Lawrence he became acquainted with the McKay machine, and during the dull times and panic of 1873 he came to Lynn and worked as a McKay stitcher.

He was a member of Local Assembly 715, Knights of Labor. After the big strike in Lynn he was a member of the old Stitches' Union and later the Sole Fasteners' Union.

In 1885 he joined the Socialist Labor party, and has been a hard and constant worker for the party since that time; was candidate for Lieutenant Governor in 1891, when the party first entered the field in Massachusetts; later he was a candidate for Congress against Henry Cabot Lodge, in the Seventh district.

In 1872 he was married to Sarah Slade, of Winthast, Vermont; his family, consisting of three grown-up sons and a daughter attending school, now live on Essex street, Lynn.

2. By far the subject that brought out the best intellectual abilities, legislative usefulness and oratorical powers of the delegates was that relative to the

SOCIALIST TRADE & LABOR ALLIANCE.

the debate upon which occupied nearly all the forenoon of Monday, the 30th of May. This debate was made all the more interesting by the appearance of Secretary Carter, of Lesters' Union No. 32, of Lynn, and member of the Lynn Local Alliance of the S. T. & L. A., who asked the privilege of the floor on behalf of the S. T. & L. A. The privilege was accorded by unanimous consent. After his well-grounded address the following resolutions were adopted with hardly a dissenting vote:

"WHEREAS, In the stage of industrial development, known as the manufacturing period, the old trade guilds and organizations, in which master and man protected themselves against the aggressions of feudal lords, have now necessarily evolved with a higher form of the class struggle in which the man, no longer an artisan selling the product of his labor, but a wage slave, selling his labor power, while the master no longer works at his craft, but has evolved into the holder of great aggregations of capital, the class struggle now presents hostility directly between the wage slaves and the capitalist class.

"The by-gone advantage with the strike, boycott and label as weapons of offence and defence, suited as they were to subjects under despotic governments, are not a force sufficient to enable men living under a higher form of industrial development to gain redress or to obtain advancement. Be it therefore

"RESOLVED, That an appeal be sent by the Socialist Labor party to the trades organizations throughout the Commonwealth setting forth the class struggle, its historic development and the opportunity now afforded to the working class for emancipation from the degradation of servility and poverty to the natural rights of citizens, the co-operative ownership of all the means of production and the benefits of science and cultivation of the arts by the reorganization of trades unions under the principles of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, which recognizes that the working class must become the ruling class; be it further

"RESOLVED, That the Socialist Labor party send speakers to the trades unions to speak in support of this appeal."

3. Action on the

DEBS DEMOCRACY.

This was brought on by the reading from the Chair of an invitation from that "Democracy" in Massachusetts to fuse with it. While the reading of the invitation was going on, a hum of undertone conversation and merriment went through the Convention. The invitation was referred to a special committee with instructions to frame a reply. In a few days it will be sent as a message of light and education to those of the Debs movement who are in it simply out of blindness.

It should here be added that the epistle inviting the party to fuse contained among other signatures that of "Konikow"—a woman whose conduct was found out to be so unclean in the party of this State, while she was an officer thereof, that, although she had withdrawn, the Convention felt constrained to brand her by officially expelling her, as will be seen by the re-

port of the Convention on the fourth page under internal official matters.

In this connection should also be mentioned that a long letter was read to the Convention by Morris E. Rutherford, secretary of the State Committee, addressed to him recently by one Kellher, secretary of the Social Democracy of "America and Patagonia," in which the writer said his (Rutherford's) name had been given him as one most fitted to take up the work of organizing the Social Democracy in Holyoke and vicinity, and pointing out that power was about to fall into their hands if the friends of the "cause" would but reach out their hand to pluck it, if indeed that were necessary, as there was a man up the tree of power to shake the ripe fruit into the laps of all who would but stand under the tree of Social Democracy. Rutherford denounced the communication as a base attempt to bribe the highest officer of the S. L. P. in Massachusetts, which he spurned with indignation.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE CONVENTION.

The Socialist Labor party State Convention met in S. S. Pittsburgh yesterday and lasted two days. Its important public official acts were:

1. The nomination of the following

TICKET:

For Governor,
J. MAHLON BARNES,
of Philadelphia.

For Lieutenant Governor,
W. H. THOMAS,
of Buena Vista.

For Congressmen at Large,
DONALD L. MUNRO,
of Durkoids.

JOHN R. ROOT,
of Pittsburgh.

For Judges of Superior Court,
DR. B. B. LEVENGOOD,
of Bellewood.

2. Action was taken on the

S. T. & L. A.,

by the adoption of a resolution to issue a manifesto to the working class which is to be circulated throughout the State, urging the workmen to identify themselves with the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

3. The consideration of a

PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

which resulted in a resolution to send an agitator especially through the coal-mining regions.

In view of the splendid results of the special election in New Bedford, the following passage from a speech delivered there by Comrade Hickey the night before election, and reproduced in the New Bedford "Evening Standard" will be found interesting:

"This old world of ours is a world of change. Life is inseparable from motion. The rude blasts of Boreas that blows across the New England hills in the gray dawn of a winter's morning changes to the gentle breezes of balmy spring. The hot winds of a torrid summer's day changes to the cooling zephyrs of our glorious fall. As the seasons change so does our industrial system. Franklin's old font of type is now in the museums. In its place we have the Mergenthaler linotype-setting machine. The old spinning wheel of our grandmother's days has passed away. Instead we have the Northrup loom. No longer do we hear the clang of the hammer on the anvil in the old village blacksmith's shop. Instead we have the mighty trip hammer, with its thousand ton force. Fulton's old steam engine that used to run up and down on the Hudson is supplanted by the mighty engines that annihilate space in their passage across the Atlantic. The little old red school house, with its dozen scholars, is no longer a delight to the eye. We now have the mighty public school, where a thousand children sing their matin songs. Everywhere is seen life, change and motion, except in the old British pure and simple trades union. There labor sings the same old battle songs that it sang in the valleys of Lancashire 100 years ago. As a result we have a New Bedford strike with its reconcentrated wretchedness, where the strikers pit a soup house against a palace. A strike in which the workers pit the pennies in their tattered pants' pockets against the massed millions of the capitalist class. They stand still. They change not with the changing times. They suffer and die. Against this condition of affairs the Socialist new trades unionist raises aloft the banner of revolt. He says 'keep abreast of times and victory will be your reward.'"

"Vote yourselves on the right side of the policeman's clubs and the militia-man's bayonets. Put yourselves behind the ermine of the judges on the bench. Then, and not until then, will the sunlight of success shine on your banners, and shining thus, reflect the future freedom of our class."

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that recently ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. This work is of great value. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. city. Price 25 cents.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

FRENCH COMRADES.

Interesting Features of the Recent French Elections.

In Default of Completer Information, the Below Data Will Serve to Give Some Preliminary Idea of the Nature of the Campaign and of the Brilliant Victory Won by Socialism—Facts Later.

On the 8th of May, elections were held in France for the Chamber of Deputies. According to reports in the capitalist papers the Socialists elected twenty-nine of their candidates on that day, and the French capitalists admit that a million votes were polled by the Socialists. The election laws of France provide that a candidate for the Chamber of Deputies must have at the first ballot a majority of the votes cast for all candidates. If no one has such a majority, a supplementary election is held in two weeks, and at such supplementary election a single plurality elects. According to these same capitalist papers the Socialists elected twenty-eight members on the second ballot, making a total of fifty-seven Socialists. The French papers giving the results of the second election, held on the 22d of May, have not yet reached us, but we can safely assume that at least fifty-seven Socialists have been elected to the next Chamber of Deputies. This is but a slight increase over the representation chosen five years ago, but the significance of the election is greater than the figures indicate.

At the election of five years ago there was no united French party, no common platform, no common understanding. This year, however, in the language of Gerault-Richard, the editor of the official paper of the Socialist Labor party of France:

"For the first time the Socialists have agreed on the fundamental principles of the movement. Wherever our candidates have appeared to talk to the people they have not simply attacked the political form of government and the Cabinet ministers, but everywhere and with a unanimous voice they have attacked the capitalist system and declared for the change to the Socialist system. Read the declarations of the candidates of the Socialist Labor party, and it will be found that these three propositions are the key notes of the Socialists in the present campaign: Conquest of the powers of government by the proletariat; international union of the working class; abolition of the capitalist system of production, in favor of the Socialist Commonwealth."

FRENCH CAPITALIST PAPERS' COMMENTS.

And it should be remembered that this solidarity has been accomplished amidst the most trying circumstances. There was a coalition of all the forces of capitalism, backed up by the capitalist government, to keep down the Socialist vote. How well this coalition succeeded may be learned by extracts from the capitalist press of Paris. The "Gaulois," the organ of the Clericals, says:

"The most important fact of the election is the formidable gain made by the Socialists. They at least have no complaints to make as to the results of the struggle, no matter if they did lose a couple of their leaders."

"The Temps," the especial guardian of the capitalist class, says:

"The Socialist Labor party is the only party that can claim to have made any gains."

The "Siecle," the most venomous of all the capitalist papers of Paris, says:

"Because Guesde and Jaures have been defeated, many superficial reasoners are exclaiming that Socialism was defeated on the 8th of May. This exclamation has no facts back of it. From the latest returns the Socialists have at least one million votes to their credit. At the election of 1893 the Socialist Labor party polled 665,038 votes, which makes a gain in five years of about 335,000. Our statesmen of the Melne stamp are saying to themselves in astonishment: We gave rigid instructions to the prefects of every department, and yet the Socialist vote has increased."

THE COALITION.

Reference has been made to the coalition of all the anti-Socialist forces. In a recent article Jaures refers to this in these words:

"For the first time in twenty-five years the capitalist government and the Church have come to an understanding. It is well known that from 1876 to the present, the Republican party has fought the Church—the Church moved outside of the Republic, and therefore the Church was fought. But menaced by the revolutionary declarations of Socialism, the wealthy followers of Voltaire and the Children of the Cross have become reconciled, and Socialism meets a formidable enemy in the coalition of the government, the money changers, the upper strata of the middle class, the large property holders, and the Church. Possibly this coalition may have the immediate effect of stopping, or at least reducing, the apparent growth or visible progress of Socialism in France, and without doubt two or three elections will be necessary to thoroughly undermine this coalition."

And this coalition showed itself in every district in France where the Socialists had considerable strength. In districts where the regular capitalist and government candidate was sure to

be defeated under ordinary circumstances, the Church itself placed candidates in the field, and the followers of the meek and lowly Nazarene were heard in meeting after meeting exhorting the workmen to vote for the Clerical candidate. But the coalition only succeeded in defeating Jaures and Guesde. In those districts the Socialist candidates bit the dust, though their vote increased, but elsewhere both the Socialist vote increased and the candidates were successful.

BILL-POSTING SKIRMISHES.

A few details of the election may be interesting. Let us first go to Paris.

It is customary for a candidate for the Chamber of Deputies to make a canvass of his district, get as many supporters as possible, then print bills announcing his candidacy, the names of his supporters appearing thereon, and post up the bills wherever a wall could be found. The government candidates (including the Republicans, Opportunists, Clericals, etc.) got the idea that the more names there appeared on the placards of its candidates the more certain would be the election of those candidates. In pursuance of this idea names were taken at haphazard, no matter whether they were supporters of the aforesaid candidates or not. In the First district of the Thirteenth arrondissement the Socialist candidate was Gerault-Richard, while the capitalist candidate was Paul Bernard. When Bernard's placards were posted about five hundred names were printed thereon as his supporters. Many of those names were the names of Socialists, who were ardent in their support of Gerault-Richard. Protests began to accumulate. The protester was always told that there was another man in that district with his name, and that the other man was the one referred to on the placard. The protester would hasten to the address given him by the agent of Bernard, but it universally happened that the other man was a myth. Now the First district of the Thirteenth arrondissement is thoroughly Socialist, and, true to their class-consciousness, if the workmen discover that a tradesman is supporting the anti-Socialist he is forthwith boycotted. When Bernard's placards were posted, he had among the names of his supporters that of Victor Lucy, a hatter of the Avenue des Gobelins. Mr. Lucy protested, but in spite of his protests his name continued to appear on Bernard's bills. Consequently Mr. Lucy armed himself with a blue pencil and proceeded to scratch off his name wherever he found it. He was immediately arrested by the police and taken before the police judge, where charges of defacing the bills were preferred against him. In vain did Mr. Lucy contend that the lawbreakers were those who used his name without his permission; in vain did he affirm that because of such use of his name his customers were leaving him; all this did no good, and the charges stood. The same night all over Gerault-Richard's district the posters announcing his candidacy were covered with large strips of paper bearing the inscriptions: "Vendu aux Juifs!"—Sold out to the Jews. And the police officers did not make an arrest. It should be understood in this connection that the chief of police of Paris is appointed by the general government, and that the entire police force of Paris is under him, and hence can be used by the general government.

Deprived by the police and the courts of the right to prevent their names being published in support of the capitalist candidates, the men who had this unwelcome publicity forced upon them had recourse to the Socialist press, and every day numbers of cards like the following were printed:

"To the Editor: I have never been a member of any organization supporting the candidacy of Paul Bernard. I have never given that gentleman the right to use my name on his bills, and I protest in the most energetic manner against such a BRIARD, 4 Rue Coppel."

In the Eighteenth arrondissement Legue was running as a Clerical against the Socialist Rouanet. One of the men whose name was printed on Legue's bills had this card published:

"I, the undersigned, a doctor living at No. 16 Rue Hermel, Paris, protest against my name being used as a supporter of the candidacy of Legue. I hereby declare that all my sympathies are with Gustave Rouanet, the Socialist candidate for re-election, for whom I have voted before."

"Dr. G. OLLIVIER."

A still more striking illustration of this capitalist bulldozing occurred in Gerault-Richard's district.

After the election of the 8th of May a new election was necessary, neither Gerault-Richard nor Bernard having secured a majority over all the candidates. During the two weeks that elapsed before the second vote the battle was waged with increased vigor, and on the part of the capitalists with increased brutality. It seems that there is no constitutional or legal determination regarding the apportionment of the walls for posting the bills; but rather that recourse is had to brute force. On the 18th of May Gerault-Richard was passing in front of the Gobelins manufactory, and discovered with a certain degree of anguish that out of two hundred placards, that his committee had posted on the wall of the manufactory but three had survived the inundation of bills sown with prodigal hands by the committees backing Bernard;—but let me give the incident in the words of the official paper of the French Socialist Labor party:

"While passing in front of the Gobelins factory Gerault-Richard discovered with a certain degree of anguish that out of two hundred bills that his committee had posted there but three had survived the inundation of paper that Paul Bernard (who became a millionaire at the same time that he was announced the official candidate of the government, the Boulangerists,

(Continued on Page 3.)

THE SLUMS.

An Element of Society Well Worth Watching Just Now.

The Slums are a Social Product of Capitalist Society, that Capitalism Must Periodically Thin Out—This Process is one of the Uses of War.—A Sort of Bloodletting that Capitalism Needs.

However numerous the menial class may be in all its ramifications, it is not now, and was not even in the luxuriant days of the declining Roman Empire, capacious enough to absorb the whole propertyless class. The steady displacement of labor by the perfection of machinery, the concentration of capital, and a score of other causes, all of them the results of the development of capital, increase the number of the propertyless people immeasurably faster than they can be taken up by the class of the menials. To these masses, whether they consist of able-bodied men and women, or children, old people, the crippled and infirm, unable to work, there is nothing left but to beg, steal or prostitute themselves. The alternative forced upon these is either to perish or to throw overboard all sense of shame, honor, and self-respect. They could prolong their existence only by giving precedence to their own personal and immediate wants rather than to their regard for their own reputation. That such a condition cannot but exercise the most demoralizing and corrupting influence is self-evident.

Furthermore, the effect of this corrupting influence is all the more intensified by the circumstance that the unemployed poor are utterly superfluous in the existing social order; that, not only does it not need them, but, on the contrary, it would be relieved of an undesirable burden by their extinction. Whatever class is superfluous, whatever class has no necessary functions to fulfill, must perish; this is a law that applies both to the high and the low.

Beggars cannot even indulge in the self-deception that they are necessary to the social system; they have no recollections of a time when their class rendered any services to society; they cannot brag about their power, and force their parasitic existence upon society. They are only tolerated. Humility is, consequently, the first duty of the beggar, and is the highest virtue of the poor. Like the menials, this class of the proletariat also is servile towards the powerful; it furnishes no opposition against the existing social order. On the contrary, it ekes out its existence from the bones thrown at it by the rich, how could it want to abolish them! Furthermore, beggars are not themselves exploited; the higher the degree of exploitation is carried against the workmen, and the larger the incomes of the rich, all the more have the beggars to expect. Like the menial class, they are partakers of the fruits of exploitation; what could move them to put an end to that system? When William M. Tweed, the shining star of Tammany twenty odd years ago, was unmasked and brought to justice for his wholesale plunder of the public treasury, it was this class among the population of New York City that stuck to him fastest; he had been a generous almoner to it; nor has the character of Tammany's "following" materially changed since then.

The division of the proletariat constitutes, strictly speaking, the SLUMS; never yet has it shown the least spontaneity of spirit for resistance against the system of exploitation. But neither is it a bulwark of the present system. Goaded and unprincipled, it readily leaves in the lurch those whose aims it has taken so soon as wealth and power have slipped from their hands. This class has never taken the lead in any revolutionary movement; but it has always been found on hand, during social disturbances, ready to fish in troubled waters. Occasionally it has given the last kick to a falling class; as a rule, however, it has satisfied itself with exploiting and corrupting every revolution that has broken out, and to be ready to betray it at the earliest opportunity.

The capitalist system of production has given strong increment to the slums; it steadily sends to them fresh recruits; in the large centers of industry it constitutes a considerable portion of the population.

We call the attention of those in the vicinity to the mass meeting and entertainment arranged by the Wendell Phillips Agitating Society for next Thursday, the 9th instant. The proceeds are for the campaign fund.

This Society consists of young men and lads, who do good work in bringing in the young generation. Their work should be encouraged. See the advertisement on another page.

Unhappy Caroline Islands!

Hawaii was "civilized" by our missionaries so thoroughly that these now own the whole island, and the natives are pariahs on their ancestral heath.

Now our Federal Government, at whose head we have a contributor to "missionary work," wants to capture the Carolines so as to afford our missionaries greater security in their "sacred work of civilizing."

The New York Woman's Educational Association, an organization of Socialist women intended to carry into the homes of the proletariat the pure light of Socialism, has arranged a mass meeting and concert for this afternoon, at 3 p. m., in the Old Homestead Garden, 3d avenue and 90th street. Admission is free.

The admirable purpose of the organization should be encouraged by a generous attendance.

THE DEBATE.

(Continued.)

NEW YORK CITY, April 24, 1898.

Debate of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union (A. F. of L.) versus the General Council of Shoe Workers (S. T. & L. A.), at Teutonia Hall, 16th street and 3rd avenue, New York City, April 24, 1898.

Participants:
John F. Tobin, and
Frank A. Sieverman,
representing the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union;
William L. Brower, and
Daniel De Leon,
representing the General Council of Shoe Workers.

The meeting was called to order by Miss Katie Pryor, Secretary of the General Council of Shoeworkers.

TOBIN: This is round two. Mr. De Leon has told you that Comrade Tobin voted for that scallawag Pomeroy at the American Federation of Labor, and he repudiates my action on that occasion because I happened to vote against the large mass of so-called fakirs. I want to explain that briefly, and say my reason was entirely different from convey. I voted for him for the reason that the different trades had the right to vote for whoever they chose to represent them, at that convention.

He tells you that certain men in this city have violated their obligation to their organization, and we must discipline those men. In other words, they have placed a fine on those men. They must pay a fine. That is another evidence of fakirism. When you find an organization telling its people that they must pay a fine of ten dollars or ten cents for each man because he scabbed it on them, you must take this belief that they pay this fund to add boodle for this organization, for the officers of the organization who do not report what they do with their money.

Now, some men have been referred to as fakirs. I want to tell you that there is a peculiar condition existing in New York, which you perhaps know, and that it is impossible if you come in here to get men who are identified with the Socialist Labor party movement. Because why? Because they must bow down to the will of the High Priest. The High Priest says these are the qualifications necessary to become a Socialist in New York, or you are not a consistent Socialist. In other words, when the High Chief of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, who, by the way, is the editor of THE PEOPLE, takes snuff everybody must sneeze. That is the philosophy of that. For that reason we have not got with us this afternoon a representative Socialist on our side of the platform. These men here did not sneeze when the snuff was taken and they have got out. (Applause by Modest, Casson, Winchewsky, Cahen, etc.) Some of them happened to be in the city to-day, and then we found that our field of operation in that line was quite limited indeed, and we were obliged to resort to this in order to have our side of the platform filled. No apology therefore.

Mr. Brower stated that the Cousin's strike was lost about five years ago because men were not loyal to the organization. That is only a guess, simply guesswork, because a man went out of the packing room into the Good-year room. Now, if these strikes that we order from day to day were based on that, we are going to lose every time; but it does not hinge upon that at all. It is more important than that.

De Leon wants me to substantiate a statement that he makes that Comrade Carter, of the Lynn Lasters, is a class-conscious Socialist; and challenges me to deny that he is. I want to give you some evidence of his "class-consciousness." Here is a proposed amendment to our constitution which he fathered, and I want you to mark the evidence of "class-consciousness" in this proposed amendment to our constitution. "Amend Article 17 by adding: 25 per cent. of all moneys received by the General Union shall be set aside for a fund to be used for manufacturing union-made shoes." (The class-conscious men do not believe in labels, and to-day we find that this meeting is advertised by a circular which has on it an imitation of the union label; but these people do not believe in labels at all; labels are of no use.) "When said fund amounts to \$5,000, the General Executive Board and General Officers shall start a manufactory, and shall have full power to decide on location, kind of shoes to be made and all details of conducting the business; also have power to hire money and do business the same as any first-class business concern." (Just imagine a first-class business concern with a capital of \$5,000 and the ability to borrow money!) "They shall keep ever in view the idea of producing the best possible shoes for the money, to the end that our stamp shall be a guarantee of a first-class article as well as a union-made one. If the above recommendation is not accepted, we recommend that all reference to a union stamp be stricken from our constitution." Signed by M. Grote, George Waddell, John Gibson, Fred S. Carter, committee. This proposed resolution was offered by Comrade Carter, and I tell you that is an evidence of "class-consciousness." It is about the silliest I have ever seen; and he further says if our Convention fails to adopt this amendment we must strike from our constitution all reference to a union stamp! He has got his solution of the labor problem in this little document; and if you do not accept it, you get out! That is an evidence of "class-consciousness." I say! It is the worst I have ever seen.

Now the International Congress has been referred to, and Comrade Sieverman has told you that we are entirely in line with the Internationalist Socialist and Trades Union Congress that met in London in 1896. I submit that we are doing exactly what that Congress states we should do, and we were represented in that Congress by our American delegates, Comrades Maguire, Sanial and Bechtold, and that is the resolution that was adopted, and it said: "Especially difference of political views should not be considered a reason for separate action in the economic struggle." Now that is the meat of all the resolutions adopted at that Congress, and it is entirely in harmony with our union. We are just in line with that. I submit that is the most

reasonable line to take; that is the most reasonable line of action; and when we came to New York and saw this little Mutual Admiration Society, acting in opposition to the Congress, we see they are making no progress.

De Leon has a standard of measurement, set up in 1896, as follows: "You fellows up in Rochester are not in line; you are not thorough Socialists; your tactics are wrong, and the evidence is that your vote does not increase, while here in New York we are up all the time." Now, here in New York, let us measure the correctness of his tactics by the vote that the Socialists poll! I have adopted that yard stick; and we find where our organizations exist, where we have the best organizations, there we have an increasing Socialist vote every time we go to the polls. Here in New York you have a stationary vote. Here, in a field where you have the greatest degree of the effects of the modern industrial system, confronting you at all times, and an opportunity to make Socialists every day, and where you have the National Executive Committee, you are unable to increase from year to year, and in Rochester, with our incorrect tactics, if you please, we are enabled to make progress right along and our organization is on class-conscious lines. I will say that we are showing a much more substantial increase along those lines than you are. The men I have met here do not seem to have made any more progress than we have. We have good Socialists in Rochester and wherever our organizations are. (Applause.)

BROWER—Mr. Tobin said that the Faunce and Spiney strike was prior to the organization of the Boot and Shoe Workers. So did I. I still say that after they had their agreement in the City of Lynn, in the central organization, they violated that promise and took and organized scabs that took the places of members of the various independent organizations. (Voice: "Support that.") I will (showing two letters). And the gentleman who made that agreement was Mr. Eaton, of the Lasters' Union. Do you wish me to read this letter? I will give it to you: It is from a shoemaker of the East. I would like it to go in the records of this meeting. This letter comes from a person whom they tried to victimize when he left the city of Lynn for the purpose of going to the West. (A voice: "What's his name?") A. B. Stevens. He is not a Socialist. They wrote to the city of Chicago, "Look out for this fellow;" yet the cutters in the city of Chicago received this man and denounced these fellows. (Voices: "Read it.") I will read it, but I don't want it taken from my time. (The Chairman states that the reading must be included in the time of the speaker.)

The organization of the Brooklyn Union of the Boot and Shoe Workers—there are several of them here—I claim were the men that refused to assist the other shoe workers in the Cousins' trouble of 1892, and also in John J. Latteman's in 1894. It was not altogether on account of Mr. Ross that the Latteman strike was lost; other persons in this city assisted in breaking that strike, and that factory has been going from bad to worse ever since, and whether the Boot and Shoe Workers can ever get it in condition again remains to a certain extent to be seen. There are men here who know full well that we had the factories won, were it not for the snakes in the grass who were guided from the office of the firms, and are now in the Tobin's organization. We can go into the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union of this city and point them out. In Well's factory this man Clark made the statements that the Council amounted to nothing, he represented the only organized shoe workers of the country; notwithstanding that we made an advance of 25 per cent. The General Council is the liveliest corpse that Mr. Tobin and Mr. Eaton will ever see. DON'T FORGET THAT POINT.

Mr. Sieverman spoke about Comrade Gifford. I do not mean to say that he was a Socialist, but this man came back into Thomas' factory, where there were 500 people, all told, and he made the statement that his card was refused. And Mr. Sieverman told me in the Grand Central Palace, at the time of the party's Convention in 1895, that he would not recognize the card of the S. T. & L. A.; and I said: "The battle is on." The same was said by General Secretary Eaton in the Boston office, he said he would not, and he did not. The Syracuse Union, when men tried to go to work, said "those cards are no good."

They refer to the waving of the American flag in the office of the General Council, and I want to say right here, boys, that I am not ashamed of that flag. I don't wish to appeal to sentiment in this debate. The party carries that flag at the head of its procession together with the International flag of labor. I recognize that there have been wrong things done under the American flag, but I tell you, boys, if you take and follow out the policy of the Socialist Labor party and the Alliance, we can wipe out those wrongs, and don't forget it.

They speak about "capturing" our organization. Well, if they can capture all the members of the Council in this city they are welcome to them; but I tell you, boys, from this time out, from the expressions of the National Officers of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, the fight will go all the stronger; and we will talk to the unorganized shoe workers and the organized shoe workers of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union and show them the miserable position of their national organization.

I now wish to say a word in relation to a matter that took place in the city of Newark. An organizer of the Boot and Shoe Workers, Mr. Goodwin, met me there before Local 63, S. T. & L. A., and he there expounded the principles of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. I took issue with him; he challenged me to debate; I accepted it. He then flunked out of it, and then said in the records of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union that I backed out; and when Mr. Tobin was called upon to back up the statement of Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Tobin backed him up. Now the records of the Boot and Shoe Workers are on the table and they can be easily referred to, and their own lie exposed.

I further wish to say this, that the Boot and Shoe Workers' actions in this city since it has been in existence, if that is any criterion to go by, indicate that their progress will be very slow. I made the prediction on the platform

* These two interesting letters will be published at a later day.

in Boerum street, when the cigarmaker, Mr. Dan Harris, and a few more were allowed to talk, notwithstanding they interrupted me when I tried to show the weakness of the Boot and Shoe Workers from their own report, and expressed what the Shoe Workers of Brooklyn had to say about this new organization of Shoe Workers, namely, that they would soon go to pieces. When the Boot and Shoe Workers go through the number of fights that the General Council has gone through, we will then find out which side the honest shoemakers are on. We have stood the battle for five years, and wherever the Council has been established we can show a better condition of Shoe Workers than the Boot and Shoe Workers can now or will show in time to come.

Delegates of the Tobin organization go into the Central Labor Union and make statements. What are those statements? Statements that I, as an officer, for the purpose of a wine dinner, sold out a boycott. What is the truth? The C. L. U. itself declared the boycott off, because the people had the courage to go out and stand on new trades union lines.

They say we have nothing to show for the money that we get from our organization. The members get a report once a year, and they know exactly where the money goes, and they know whether it has been squandered one way or another. Next Sunday the Council has another meeting; and the meeting following the members of the various locals know just what money has been collected, how it has been spent, and everything else. (Applause.)

SIEVERMAN:—You will notice, gentlemen, that Mr. Brower failed to tell you why he was so actively engaged, having it put up in printer's ink, to keep you in an organization that was petering out, meaning the Knights of Labor. He does not explain it to you why he did that in 1895, while Tobin was in Boston fighting the fight of the American Federation of Labor. He has not touched it with a ten-foot pole. He has not said anything else but appealed to your prejudice, and has told you, "We know what these people done in 1892." The most improved fakir could not improve on that. In 1892 these men scabbed it, and what of it? For five years the Shoe Council has been trying to get these shops and bring them into the fold of the labor movement, and they have made a most complete and signal failure; and because of that the Boot and Shoe Workers have come down here and appealed to your prejudice! I attended a meeting that Sam Gompers addressed in the city of Rochester last Sunday night, to 113 men; 113 men they were able to drum up to that affair; they drummed up 113 men in the town where I live, where we have 1,100 members of the Boot and Shoe Workers alone that do not affiliate with any corrupt central body, that won't have anything to do with any body based on the old-fashioned political lines. He tried by hook and by crook to arouse these people to a state of enthusiasm, he gave them all that bluff you have listened to about these fellows scabbing, and then he appealed to the American flag. The rogue's last resort is patriotism; when nothing else can be roped in for your edification, then the American flag is waved. Hurrah! I congratulate you, members of the S. T. & L. A., upon your manifestation of international class-consciousness. I congratulate you in view of what is transpiring under this flag in Hazleton, at Lattimer, at Homestead, everywhere throughout this country under the folds of these stars and stripes. I congratulate you, class-conscious S. T. & L. A., that the leader of your movement, who was the leader of 49, has the trickery of arousing you under that flag. If there is one thing that we need to-day it is plain talk. Let us understand that that flag stands for tyranny, that it stands for oppression, that it stands for robbery; let us understand that it is the capitalist emblem. (Hisses.) They hiss; they are class-conscious; they are Socialist Trade and Alliancees; they are class-conscious. Under this American flag all these oppressions are inflicted upon you. Under this American flag you are to-day being ground down to the miserable pittance that you are receiving. It is the flag which every capitalist judge and every capitalist fleecer hides himself in its folds. It is in that guise, hidden in its folds, that they to-day rope you in, bunco you and make you believe that it is to your interest to fight their battles. We have got to understand that the question that is to-day at issue is a question of which of the two sets of capitalists shall have a chance to fleece the Cubans. That is the proposition. And the S. T. & L. A. proudly waves the American flag; it proudly says that the Cubans should be fleeced by American capitalists instead of by the Spanish capitalists. Please excuse me from any of that kind of class-consciousness! I think a man would be a peculiar man indeed who did not have somewhere in his heart a love for the particular spot where he first saw the light of day. I first saw the light of day down in the old Buckeye State, and I do think more of my country than I do of other countries. I have in my heart a tender spot for my country, but what is this country? Is it its flag? No, it is you; it is the 55 per cent. of workmen who are being plundered, and it is for those that I am proud that you hiss this sentiment; it is for those that I would take this country away from the capitalist class that has got it. We never can accomplish this if we allow the president of the S. T. & L. A. and capitalist editors to bunco us that the proper thing to do is to rally around flags. We do not want any of that.

We submit a proposition to you, my friends, that the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union is prepared to come into the city of New York and fight the battle for you, to the best of its ability. It has behind it a force of some 10,000. We think that 10,000 are worth something.

Mr. De Leon was kind enough to state that I wear this red button as a bait. The worthy Chairman of this meeting, Comrade Hickey, Comrade Balkam, who is a member of our party and was a candidate for election, they have all met me when they reached my city, and they have all done me credit to say that I work earnestly for the interest of the party. De Leon wanted to discredit me in your eyes; he was afraid I might say something which he would not like. Is it any wonder that we have men sitting here who were once affiliated with the S. L. P. and who had the independence to get out?

I do not care whether you go into the

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union or not. We are here defending our right to show our ability to organize the unorganized workers of the city of New York. We are here to do what the General Council is manifestly unable to do in the city of New York. If we demonstrate our ability to do this, if we show you by our action in our respective fields that we are doing all that is to be done under existing conditions, that we are not a tail to any capitalist political party, if we can do that, you will give us credit. Don't let anything sway you in your conclusions because this man or that man says it. Take everything upon its merits. I don't pretend to be an orator, and what I have said to you this afternoon has reference to the merits of our organization, to its right to plant its flag in the city of New York and do business here, from an economic, from a Socialist, from any standpoint we wish to do it. If you think we are right we ask you to stop your opposition to the growth of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. If we ask for the opportunity to try to do something for Latteman's men, I say in common decency we should have your undivided co-operation and support, and if you agree with that sentiment that settles it. If you think, however, that we are justified in using up another three or four or five years trying to organize the unorganized, you will disagree with me, and you will say: "Sieverman, you and your Boot and Shoe Workers' Union have no place in this city; go back to the city of Rochester, where you are meeting with unqualified success."

I thank you shoemakers of the city of New York for your attention. If I never have a chance to see you anywhere else, I will be on the street corners some day talking the Socialism of the S. L. P. (Applause.)

DELEON: It is a great pity that the stenographer could not also stenograph a picture of Comrade Hickey's face when he was just now being referred to by Sieverman as testimony for Mr. Sieverman's false statements.

THE DAILY PEOPLE

\$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to June 1st, 1898.

\$4,575.

Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.
184 William St., N. Y.

Mr. Sieverman further said it was a falsehood to say he threw light on this question in the S. L. P. national convention, and he told you a pretty yarn of how he was prevented by me from "throwing light." As he first used the word "falsehood," I feel free to use it now. His story is an unqualified, deliberate falsehood. But it is not the first he is guilty of. In that convention I nailed half a dozen falsehoods on his head in plain view of all; and only yesterday afternoon Comrade Hickey nailed on his head two more falsehoods he was retelling against me.

They say the S. T. & L. A. is a paltry affair, a "Mutual Admiration Society."—I notice that it keeps the whole crowd of fakirs howling from one end of the country to the other.

They tell us great things of what they have accomplished—at a distance; wherein they approve themselves apt pupils of their President Gompers, who in New Bedford tells the weavers of the great victories he won for the miners in Pennsylvania, and in Pennsylvania tells the miners of the "splendid victory" he won for the weavers in New Bedford;—always far enough away to prevent the danger of immediate contradiction.

Mr. Sieverman gave you a "philosophic" lecture on the "scab" and "human nature." I have no time to expose that "philosophy." Suffice it to say that it was certainly interesting to note just the men who on this platform enthusiastically applauded Sieverman's apotheosis of the scab (pointing towards Brown, Prince and Modest, of the Cigarmakers, and Bechtold, of the Brewers among the Tobin-Sieverman backers). I can't go into that.

They find much fault with our saying that we can win economic battles, and with our adopting a label: that's their fault; we make it clear enough that the economic weapons are valueless only when in the hands of such labor fakirs as the leaders of the Garment Workers, with whom they are associated, and who sell the label to the sweater bosses. Under class-conscious training, and backed by a bona fide political party of the working class, these economic weapons are powerful aids; and that statement was perfectly correct in the South.

Tobin says he adopts my standard of measurement, and he compares the votes in Rochester and New York as proof that the Alliance is no good and Gompers' body is. The trouble with his illustration is that he got his facts upside down. My standard is correct. Why, in the Sixteenth Assembly District alone of New York, where we were "Alliance up to the handle," the INCREASE ALONE of our vote was twice as large as the vote of all Monroe County—Rochester's county. (Applause.) This applause must stop, it eats into my time.

Then, as to their contradictions, I can't take them up, my time is almost run out. But did you notice Sieverman's pride at his Rochester body "not affiliating with any corrupt central organization"? And these are the men who tell us they are wise in affiliating with Gompers, and denounce us for "going off and staying alone."

I am very glad that the vicious tone, which the correspondence from the Tobin-Sieverman side took during the preliminary arrangements for this debate, opened our eyes in time, to prepare us upon what we had to expect from that side, so as to cause us to have a stenographer here. The public will be given this debate in full, and we shall issue it in pamphlet form, with the correspondence that preceded it. It will help to bring on what I know will come, as well as I know anything, that the organization of the S. T. & L. A., being that organization which is built upon the lines of International Socialism, will be the organization that will prevail, despite all this masquerading that we see here. (Applause.)

(The debate was here declared closed by Chairman Harry Carless, and the audience separated with cheers for the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.)

Sieverman makes a violent onslaught on the flag, accusing the S. T. & L. A. The fact is that a private member, not even an officer of D. A. 49, placed the American flag together with the Cuban flag over her desk in the D. A.'s office. As to the American flag itself, it is not Socialist principle to denounce it, as Brower already showed; and as to the Cuban? It certainly is Socialist principle that a people shall have the right to govern itself; Spain denies that right

to Cuba; that flag stands for that right. I can well understand the feelings of the Comrade for having coupled the two flags over her desk. As to me, I know she will eventually discover her error, and that the independence she craves for Cuba will not come in that way. Yet this act is presented here as a fakir's act; and not only that; this individual action is sought to be palmed off upon you, not only as an official act of D. A. 49, but as an official act of the whole S. T. & L. A. Think of the unfairness, the disingenuousness, the dishonorableness of such a charge. Yes, Mr. Sieverman, you may find the flag of Cuba over the desk of a private member of the D. A. 49 who would love to see Cuba free, but I'll tell you what you won't find in the Alliance: You won't find there any of its representative men associating with a Dan Harris; you never will find them by their silence approving the "pure and simple" lies a Dan Harris instills in the workers' heads. That distinctive line is drawn between the Alliance and the fakirs who indulge in such conduct. We may have among us some who indulge in a mistaken notion as to what the Cuban flag means; but we have in our ranks none who will back up and countenance exactly the reverse of what they claim to stand for, of what the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance stands for.

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Speakers: LUCIEN SAKIAL, W. W. EDLIS, ASHMAN M. CONTEKROOS, a Cuban, B. H. HUGHES of Brooklyn, WRIGHT BROS. and the Windsor Dramatic Co. will take part in the Entertainment.

Tickets, incl. Hatchecks, 10 Cts.

The Annual Meeting of the stockholders of the Hartford Mfg. Co. for the election of directors for the ensuing year, will be held at the office of the company, No. 10 Broadway, Manhattan, New York City, on the 21st day of June, 1898, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. E. E. BARTON, Secretary.

Dated, May 30th, 1898.

Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per annum in advance. Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

Carl Schum Club (Musicians Union). Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m. at East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Fred.

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meets at 230 every Sunday afternoon at 4 East 4th street, New York City. All bona fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City.

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street—District 1 (Belgian), 234 East 1st street, every Saturday at 1 p. m.—District 11 (German), at 113 Forsyth St. meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District 13, meets at 157 Avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District 14, meets at 242 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1432 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m.

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.

German Walters' Union of New York, Office: 285 Bowers, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p. m.—Supervisors meet every Wednesday at 4 p. m. at the same hall.

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1029, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters, 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 10 o'clock a. m., Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Wolf, corr. Sec'y, 79 E. 4th St. J. S. Krings, Business agent.

Metall Spinners Union of New York and vicinity meets every second and last Friday in the month at 8 1/2 o'clock at 231-233 E. 33rd Street.

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 78 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J.

Scandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at Teutonia Assembly Rooms, 158-160 S. Ave., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scandinavian Weekly, SCAND. AM. ARBEITAREN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 34th St. 35th St. S. E. Cor. of 34th and 16th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

Progressive Clothing Cutters & Trimmers Union, A. F. of L., 68 St. & L. A.—Headquarters, 14 East 4th street, Labor Lyceum—Regular meeting every Thursday evening, at 8 p. m.

Workingmen's Children's Death Benefit Fund of the U. S. of America.—The Executive Board meets every second Wednesday in the month at 10 o'clock a. m. in the Teutonia Hall, bet. 1st and 2nd St.—Second Ave. Financial Secretary: Reinhard Lachner, 512 East 84th street.

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Vor. Staaten von Amerika.

WORKMEN'S
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The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 155 local branches with more than 15,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workmen between 18 and 45 years of age are admitted to membership in any of the branches, upon payment of a deposit of \$4.00 for the first class and \$2.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for another 40 weeks whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances, and length of time \$6.00 and \$3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of \$25.00 is granted for every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members are entitled to a sick benefit of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit of \$1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 25 workmen in good health, and men adhering to the above principles are invited to do so. Address all communications to HENRY STAHL, Financial Secretary, 25-27 3rd avenue, Room 53, New York City.

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For addresses of the Branch-bookkeepers, see "Forwards."

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Attorney at Law,
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